

Message Text

SECRET

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S/S - MR. SEBASTIAN
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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 010323

NODIS
CHEROKEE, PARIS FOR GAMMON ONLY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS:MNUC, PARM, FR, PK

SUBJECT:LETTER TO FOREIGN MINISTER

-

1.PLEASE TRANSMIT FOLLOWING CONFIDENTIAL LETTER AS SOON
AS POSSIBLE TO FOREIGN MINISTER DE GUIRINGAUD.

2. (CONFIDENTIAL) DEAR LOUIS:

I WANT YOU TO KNOW PERSONALLY HOW MUCH WE WELCOMED
YOUR GOVERNMENT'S STATEMENT LAST MONTH BARRING FURTHER
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REPROCESSING EXPORTS AND EMPHASIZING NUCLEAR FUEL SUPPLY
AND SERVICES. WE INDICATED AT THE TIME THAT WE VIEW THIS
AS AN IMPORTANT FRENCH CONTRIBUTION TO WORLDWIDE NON-
PROLIFERATION EFFORTS; I AM CONVINCED THAT OUR INCREASING
COOPERATION IN THIS FIELD CANNOT FAIL TO HAVE A POSITIVE
INFLUENCE ON THE NUCLEAR EXPORT POLICIES OF OTHER STATES.

AS WAS AGREED IN BRUSSELS, WE HAVE CONTACTED PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO, AFTER REVIEWING THIS MATTER WITH THE NEW ADMINISTRATION, WITH A VIEW TO ACHIEVING INDEFINITE DEFERRAL OF HIS REPROCESSING PROJECT. WE ARE SPEAKING TO HIM IN

TERMS OF OUR CONCERN ABOUT THE IMPLICATIONS OF THIS PROJECT FOR OUR FUTURE BILATERAL RELATIONS, OUR BELIEF THAT THE COSTS WILL FAR OUTWEIGH ANY CONCEIVABLE BENEFIT IN GOING AHEAD, AND OUR CONVICTION THAT A COMPROMISE ON THIS PROBLEM IS IN PAKISTAN'S OWN BEST INTERESTS. MR. BHUTTO UNDERSTANDS, IN PARTICULAR, THAT OUR PREFERENCE IS FOR PAKISTAN TO ACQUIRE NUCLEAR REACTORS, FUEL AND PERHAPS A FUEL FABRICATION PLANT FROM FRANCE, INSTEAD OF THE PROPOSED REPROCESSING FACILITY.

PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO'S INITIAL RESPONSE SUGGESTS TO ME THAT HE IS COMING TO RECOGNIZE BOTH THE FORCE OF THESE ARGUMENTS AND THE POTENTIAL BENEFITS OF DEFERRAL FOR PAKISTAN. HE HAS INTIMATED THAT HE MAY BE PREPARED TO CONSIDER, ON A VERY PRIVATE BASIS, THE KINDS OF ARRANGEMENTS WHICH MIGHT FACILITATE DEFERRAL, BUT HAS STRESSED THAT FINALIZATION AND ANNOUNCEMENT WOULD HAVE TO FOLLOW THE NATIONAL ELECTIONS WHICH HE INTENDS TO SCHEDULE FOR THIS MARCH. IN ANY EVENT, THE ARRANGEMENT WOULD INVOLVE INDEFINITE DEFERRAL AND NOT ABROGATION OF THE CONTRACT.

THE SHAH OF IRAN HAS TOLD US VERY RECENTLY THAT HE HAS ADVISED MR. BHUTTO NOT TO PROCEED WITH REPROCESSING AND TO CONCENTRATE INSTEAD ON STRENGTHENING HIS CONVENTIONAL
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MILITARY CAPABILITIES. WE HAVE DISCUSSED WITH BOTH THE SHAH AND THE PRIME MINISTER THE POSSIBILITY OF PAKISTANI MOVEMENT TO AN ARRANGEMENT ALONG THE LINES OF IRAN'S OWN AGREEMENTS WITH FRANCE AND THE FRG. MR. BHUTTO SEEMS INTERESTED IN THE CONCEPT, BUT HE CONSIDERS THAT HE FACES A POLITICAL IMPERATIVE NOT TO BE SEEN TO HAVE TAKEN THE INITIATIVE IN MODIFYING THE TERMS OF THE REPROCESSING SALE. IN THIS CONNECTION, A POSSIBILITY WHICH SEEMED TO INTEREST HIM WAS THAT IN ORDER TO AVOID EXPLICIT UNILATERAL INITIATIVE ON EITHER SIDE OF THE REPROCESSING ISSUE, THE AGREEMENT TO DEFER COULD BE CHARACTERIZED AS A DECISION JOINTLY ARRIVED AT BY BOTH PARTIES TO THE CONTRACT, WHEN THE TIME CAME.

IN VIEW OF THE POLITICAL PRESSURES THE PRIME MINISTER MUST FACE UNTIL HIS ELECTIONS, I BELIEVE IT IS NECESSARY TO RESPECT HIS DESIRE NOT TO MAKE PUBLIC THE INCREASED POSSIBILITY OF DEFERRING THE REPROCESSING PROJECT. ON THE OTHER HAND, WE ARE PREPARING TO DO WHAT WE CAN ON A

CONFIDENTIAL BASIS TO INCREASE PAKISTAN'S INCENTIVES TO
ACCEPT DEFERRAL.

AS WE PROCEED, I WISH TO ASSURE YOU THAT WE HAVE VERY
CLEARLY IN MIND THE CONSIDERATIONS YOU RAISED DURING OUR
MEETING IN BRUSSELS, AND THAT WE WOULD NOT DESIRE TO PURSUE
ANY ASPECT OF A FINAL NEGOTIATING PACKAGE WHICH EITHER SIDE
MAY CONSIDER UNHELPFUL. IN PARTICULAR, THE DEVICE OF JOINT
DEFERRAL MAY SIGNIFICANTLY FACILITATE A SOLUTION, AND I
WOULD HOPE THAT YOU WILL GIVE IT SYMPATHETIC CONSIDERATION.
MEANWHILE, OF COURSE, PENDING FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS WITH
PAKISTAN, IT IS OF GREAT IMPORTANCE THAT FRANCE CONTINUE
TO AVOID FURTHER MOVEMENT ON THE REPROCESSING CONTRACT.

I CAN ALSO CONFIRM ON A STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL BASIS
THAT WE HAVE CONTACTED THE BRAZILIANS INDIRECTLY ALONG
THE LINES WE DISCUSSED IN BRUSSELS. BASED ON THEIR
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INFORMAL EXPRESSIONS OF INTEREST, WE ARE NOW PREPARING TO
EXPLORE WITH BRAZIL AND THE FRG IN OFFICIAL CHANNELS THE
PARALLEL POSSIBILITIES OF DEFERRAL AND ALTERNATIVE NUCLEAR
FUEL SERVICES, BASED ALSO ON THE PRINCIPLE OF NO
COMMERCIAL DISADVANTAGE FOR EITHER PARTY TO THE EXISTING
CONTRACT. I EXPECT THAT BOTH PARTIES ARE CLEARLY ALERT TO
THE EFFECTS OF POSSIBLE CHANGE IN THE STATUS OF THE
PAKISTANI SALE AND ARE LIKELY TO BE INTERESTED IN EXPLORING
ALTERNATIVES. IN THIS PROCESS, I BELIEVE THAT SUCCESSFUL
RESOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM WILL INVOLVE OUR JOINT READINESS
NOT TO DERIVE COMMERCIAL ADVANTAGE FROM ANY ALTERATION OF
THE FRG COMMITMENT TO BRAZIL. ON THE OTHER HAND, WE MIGHT
CONSIDER THE POSSIBILITY OF GUARANTEEING NUCLEAR FUEL
SUPPLY FOR THE CONTRACTED REACTORS IF THIS WOULD BE HELPFUL
TO THE PARTIES. THIS IS CLEARLY AN ASPECT OF THE LONGER
TERM POTENTIAL FOR FUTURE FUEL SERVICE COOPERATION WHICH
WE SHOULD BOTH DISCUSS AT AN EARLY DATE.

IN CLOSING, I CAN TELL YOU THAT I HAVE REITERATED
TO THE NEW ADMINISTRATION MY SENSE OF THE FUNDAMENTAL
IMPORTANCE OF CLOSE COOPERATION BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES
IN THE SECURITY FIELD. I BELIEVE IT WILL SHARE MY VIEW
THAT THE FORWARD MOVEMENT WE ARE MAKING IN THE NON-
PROLIFERATION FIELD IS IMPORTANT NOT ONLY IN ITS OWN
RIGHT, BUT FOR THE BEARING IT WILL BE BOUND TO HAVE ON
OUR OVERALL RELATIONSHIP.

WITH WARM PERSONAL REGARDS,

SINCERELY, HENRY A KISSINGER

(END CONFIDENTIAL)

3. SIGNED ORIGINAL FOLLOWS BY POUCH.

KISSINGER

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NNN

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